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AUTHOR	Sajavaara, Kari; And Others
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ABSTRACT

A study of the influence of English on modern Finnish was designed to determine how Anglicisms are used, how they are understood, and how they are adapted to the Finnish language system. Features of present-day Finnish were analyzed to discover to what extent the Finnish language and the Finns' sense of language are changing. Anglicisms were studied on the lexical, morphological, phonological, semantic, syntactic, pragmatic, and cultural level. The first study phase involved material collection and classification. Additional studies will test the validity of the collected material with Finns from varying backgrounds and will analyze types and uses of Anglicisms in the Finnish language. The research material was classified as literary material and literary and visual material. Under literary material are the following: advertisements, manuals, instructions, trade names, job announcements, news, pop magazines and pop music, popular fiction, and fiction. Under literary and visual material are television programs, comics, and advertisements. Previous work on Anglicisms are briefly reviewed. (SW)

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INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH ON MODERN FINNISH: PRELIMINARY REPORT ON A RESEARCH PROGRAMME

KARI SAJAVAARA, JAAKKO LEHTONEN, HEIKKI LESKINEN, PAAVO PULKKINEN, ANNE RÄSÄNEN AND TUULA HIRVONEN

University of Jyväskylä

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INTRODUCTION

Present-day Finland constitutes a receptive linguistic ground for receiving English influence: 95 % of the comprehensive school pupils study English as their first non-native language. Studying English also means that, to a degree, they become acquainted with social institutions of English-speaking countries. Language teaching thus contributes to the adoption and adaptation of English elements, here called Anglicisms, into the Finnish language by producing young people who know enough English to use and understand it, but who are not actually bilingual. The influence of school is then reinforced by the media, which intermediate English and Anglo-American material daily in the form of, for instance, news, television programmes, advertisements, newspaper articles and pop music. It is possible that these factors are making changes in present-day Finnish which are faster and more radical than ever before. Despite the fact that Finnish was exposed to Swedish and Russian influence for long periods, this is the first time a foreign language influence is reaching all strata of the population.

The strong infiltration of English elements has brought about a reaction in Finland, similar to that in many other European countries, and the language community has been forced to take steps towards self-defence. The defence mechanism functions quite adequately and efficiently when the foreign elements are easily recognizable, as in trade names and advertisements. But the deeper the linguistic infiltration into the system of language, the more difficult it is for the mechanism to find effective ways of reaction. In cases where the whole conceptual 'world' of a word, i.e. the cultural context in which the word appears, has been adopted (eg. *farkut* 'jeans', *pub*, *big-band*, *drive-in*, *disko*) or where infiltration is so deep that the foreign element is no longer easy to

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trace (eg. a direct translation equivalent of a syntactic structure, understandable in Finnish, but not identical with the appropriate mother tongue expression), the defence mechanism cannot respond easily. In many cases the problem is no longer linguistic but also cultural.

The Anglicism Project, initiated on the above basis, was started in April 1977 after a pilot study carried out in 1976. It is part of an extensive research programme on cultural changes in present-day industrialized Finland undertaken by the Academy of Finland. The Anglicism project is attempting to discover, test and analyse the effects of the largest linguistic factor affecting Finnish language and culture today, namely English and Anglo-American culture. The programme will last for three years. The research programme team includes experts on English, Finnish and Phonetics.[1]

The present paper is based on the pilot study and the material collected during the first year of study. In 1977 the most important tasks were the definition of problem areas and research procedures and the collection and analysis of research material.

PREVIOUS WORK ON ANGLICISMS

The overall structure of the complex field of linguistic and cultural influence is exemplified by Figure 1.

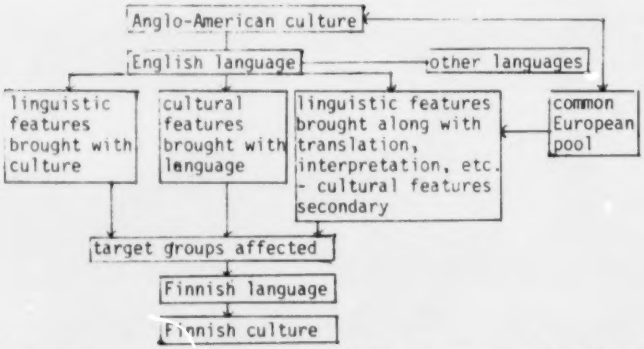

Figure 1. The overall structure of linguistic and cultural influence.

[1] Kari Sajavaara, Associate Professor of English, is director of the group; the other members are Jaakko Lehtonen, Associate Professor of Phonetics, Heikki Leskinen, Professor of Finnish, and Paavo Pulkkinen, Associate Professor of Finnish. The team employs two research assistants. The address of the programme is Department of English, University of Jyväskylä, SF-40100 Jyväskylä 10, Finland.

The linguistic source, i.e. the English language, which functions in the Anglo-American cultural context and bears its conceptual world, falls upon certain target groups (eg. youth, women, men, different professional groups) and causes change in the Finnish language and culture. This process and its effects are the object of the Anglicism project. Language is the basis of man's social behaviour and reflects, in many ways and on different levels, the various phenomena which are dominant in the language community or influence its users. Language and culture ar tightly interwoven. Language necessarily reflects culture, which, on the other hand, is borne by language. It is therefore obvious that change in one is reflected in the other. To serve the cultural needs of the community language has to develop and create or borrow new names for things and concepts often taken over from other linguistic communities. These elements are then adapted and integrated into the system of the receiving language (see Filipović 1974: 135).

Foreign elements are adopted into a language and culture in two main ways:

1. *Culture brings language*. Language borrows 'cultural words', i.e. words and concepts which reflect a foreign culture and are accepted in the same way as eg. new fashions or eating habits.
2. *Language brings culture*. Linguistic elements bear culture, i.e. whole concepts of a foreign culture, especially in cases in which a considerable part of the language community is exposed to the effect (eg. in Finland, the amount of English taught in the comprehensive school reinforced by the Anglo-American cultural and linguistic impact).

The effect that languages can have on other languages has been rather extensively studied, but the focus of such study had been mostly on lexical borrowing. In recent studies the source language has almost exclusively been English.

The closest equivalent to the Anglicism Project is a research programme in the Linguistics Department of the University of Zagreb, where Anglicisms in fourteen European languages, including Finnish, are being studied. In his *A Contribution to the Method of Studying Anglicisms in European Languages* (1974), Rudolf Filipović, director of the Zagreb project, gives an explicit definition for the term Anglicism, applicable

to most lexical Anglicism studies:

> We propose accepting as Anglicisms all those words which can be determined to have English as their language of origin or denote an object or a concept of English origin. We even consider that Anglicisms can include pseudo-Anglicisms which have been formed within the receiving language out of elements of English origin. (Filipović 1974: 147.)

In Zagreb, Anglicisms are studied on three lexical levels: phonological, morphological and semantic. The lexical level as a whole is studied separately in order to establish the amount of 'international words'. According to Filipović, this is justified since eg. technical vocabularies and terminologies are deeply affected by English. Often there is no substantive native contribution in these areas.

The problem of 'international words' is one of the reasons for which Filipović (1972, 1974) has suggested that in Anglicism studies special attention should be paid to two points: the differences between the structure of English and that of the receiving language and the question of whether the English element is received directly or through an intermediary language. Some elements may have been received from a general European pool or reservoir to which all European languages have contributed and from which they all borrow.

The aim of the Zagreb project is to produce a monograph and a dictionary. In the monograph, principles of linguistic borrowing and possible universals will be discussed and an account will be given of the extent of adoption and the degree of adaptation of English words in all fourteen languages. The dictionary will include all English words found to have been transferred to any of the languages studied.

There are a number of German studies based on written language, i.e. newspapers, magazines and other literary publications. According to Wilss (1966) the press is extremely influential, because it is often dependant on the foreign news agencies as regards both its organization and the content of the news. Furthermore, the type of language used in the press and the fact that newspapers and magazines reach a large number of the population tend to promote the adoption of foreign words.

Carstensen (1964, 1965, 1973/74), Galinsky (1972) and Wilss (1966) all divide English influence on German into the following types of Anglicisms: direct loans, loan translations, semantic loans in which the German word has a meaning borrowed (often different in extension) from English, loans in which only part of the word has been literally translated, and loans which

loosely adhere to the English meaning. According to Carstensen, there are also non-English words formed from English elements within the system of German. Each one of these types can be exemplified with material from the Jyväskylä study, eg. *fiiter, pokkikamera, auto-stop-pusäytys, expert-tiike, Finlux, Finmar, Finnlevy, Finnmatkat, Finnvaate, Finpolar*. Carstensen (1964) and Fink (1975) also point out that the general public is not always familiar with the meanings of the words of foreign origin. This also applies to the situation in Finland.

Besides Yogoslavia and Germany, Anglicisms have been studied in Poland (Fisiak 1974), Italy (Rando), Holland (Zandvoort) and in Scandinavian countries (Dollerup 1974, Soontak 1975, Sörensen 1973). In Finland, only a few theses and dissertations have been written on special areas such as sport and commerce.

English influence has been strongest in areas which are politically, technologically, economically or culturally dominated by the United States and Great Britain. Earlier, these areas were economy and business, technology, science, politics, sport and military life. Fashion, dance, theatre, cinema, radio, TV, the press, music (especially pop music), social life, literature, advertising, tourism, aviation, and food and alcohol are more recent areas of English influence (Carstensen 1965, 1973/74).

All the studies discussed above have been mainly lexical. Language should, however, be studied as a means of communication in its own psycho-sociolinguistic framework. The linguistic behaviour of man should be observed as part of his activity as a member of his linguistic community. When his community is affected by a foreign language and culture, he has to modify his own language to meet the demands of the shifts in his culture.

ANGLICISM PROJECT IN JYVÄSKYLÄ

The pilot study on Anglicisms which was carried out in 1976 aimed at discovering ways in which the English and Anglo-American[1] influence could best be investigated. All the areas in which research was under-

[1] The term Anglo-American is here used to indicate linguistic and cultural influence coming from English speaking countries in general.

taken were areas where most of the material or the models have come to Finland from an English-speaking country.

The pilot study suggests that the effect of English on the target groups appears on two levels. On the one hand, foreign influence comes *directly* through the deliberate or conscious adoption of foreign elements, i.e. loans and translation loans and, on the other hand, *indirectly* in the form of foreign linguistic and other elements which appear in a native-language environment and are not recognized as foreign by the user. Evidence of an indirect effect is fairly easily traceable, for instance in advertisements, trade names and pop culture, especially in pronunciation, orthography and morphology. The effect on Finnish syntax and semantics is much more difficult to detect.

The Anglicism Project was started in April 1977 on the basis of the pilot study results and suggestions. Following closely the lines set in the pilot study, the project aims at investigating the extent of Anglicisms and the channels in which they find their way into the Finnish language and culture. More specifically the aims are to find out (1) how Anglicisms are used, (2) how they are understood, and (3) how they are adapted to the Finnish language system. The study includes three phases, namely material collection, testing and analysis.

The research is fundamentally synchronic in nature; an attempt is made to analyse features of present-day Finnish. One of the tasks will be to discover to what extent the Finnish language and the Finns' sense of language are changing. It is evident on the basis of the pilot study that some English elements have been so well accepted and adapted to Finnish that they are no longer recognized as foreign or un-Finnish. A prediction of future development will also be possible.

The following areas were chosen for specific analysis because practically every Finn is exposed to their linguistic influence in his everyday life. They represent a large selection of different types of linguistic material, usually of English origin. The main criteria in the choice of the target areas were the size or the possibility of differentiation of the target groups (eg. news, advertisements, pop magazines) and the frequency and popularity of the material (eg. TV programmes, comics).

The research material can be divided into two main categories, each consisting of several subcategories:

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I. Literary material (in order of the size of the target groups)
   1. Advertisements, manuals, instructions, trade names, job announcements
   2. News
   3. Pop magazines, pop music
   4. Popular fiction
   5. Fiction

II. Literary and visual material
   1. TV programmes
   2. Comics
   3. Advertisements

Anglicisms will be studied on the lexical, morphological, phonological, semantic, syntactic, pragmatic and cultural level. This means an extension of the term Anglicism such as it is used by Filipović to refer to elements of English origin in Finnish syntax and pragmatics. The cultural aspect will be studied separately, especially in context with comics, TV programmes and pop magazines. It is clear that translating items which are tightly culture-bound is extremely difficult and that the result is often unsatisfactory.

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

The first phase has been material collection and classification. Since the potential material is very extensive indeed, it was necessary to restrict the amount of material to be included. This was done in all areas with regard to the general principle of the programme, i.e. the fact that the target groups affected be as large as possible. The method of analysis varies according to the area.

Literary material

Fiction. - The material included English and American fiction which has been translated into Finnish at least twice. The two translations are compared with the original text taking account of the time perspective, to see

(i) what kind of concepts have become so well-known to present-day Finns that translation is no longer necessary, and

(ii) what kind of concepts and words have become obsolete to the degree that they have to be translated.

The following novels were analysed in the pilot study:

- Fitzgerald, The Great Gatsby (G) - Kultahattu (K) (Keuruu 1959 and 1974)
- Hemingway, A Farewell to Arms (F) - Jäähyväiset aseille (J) (Helsinki 1955 and Keuruu 1973)
- Christie, Murder on the Orient Express - Idän pikajunan arvoitus (Porvoo 1959 and Keuruu 1975)

The two translations are separated in each case by an interval of about two decades. However, the older translation should not date back to before 1920, since it might then reflect more the changes in the Finnish language itself than in the attitudes to foreign elements. A systematic scanning of the Fennica collection showed that 20 popular novels are suitable for the project. Some originally Finnish novels have been analysed for comparison.

The differences found in the pilot study between the new and old translations were mainly lexical. The tendency to accept a greater number of English words is clear, as the following examples show:

(F:29) Baby is puzzled
  A. (J:28) Pienokainen on hämmentynyt
  B. (J:29) Babylla on ongelmia

(F:54) Poor, dear baby, how do you feel?
  A. (J:55) Rakas pikku raukka, miten sinä voit?
  B. (J:54) Rakas baby-raukka, miten on laitasi?

(F:31) So long, I said
  A. (J:30) Näkemiin, sanoin
  B. (J:32) So long, sanoin

(G:134) He was probably bumming his way home
  A. (K:171) Hän yritti arvattavasti tienata kotimatkansa
  B. (K:158) Hän matkusti arvattavasti pummina kotiin

In literature, the use of foreign elements can, of course, also be partly explained from the stylistic point of view.

Popular fiction. - Three popular series were chosen for analysis:

- Cleveland Western - Colorado (Kustannus Oy Semic Press)
- Romance series - Romanssi (Otava)
- Jerry Cotton (Kolmiokirja; originally Finnish, but authenticized by Anglicisms)

A preliminary analysis has shown, however, that these series do not fulfill the requirements set for the research programme. The translation is inadequately equivalent with the original text, and the quality of translation is such that it is not comparable with the other translated material of the project. If popular fiction is to be studied by the project, attention will be paid to some specific problems only and not to whole translations.

News. - The amount of news in English coming to Finland through international news agencies is so great that it can be expected to increase the infiltration of English elements. Several factors contribute to the fact that news can have linguistic influence:

(i) frequency of the news programmes;
(ii) repetition of the same news items during the day;
(iii) time shortage: not much time to translate and edit the news material; translation equivalence often impossible;
(iv) novelty of news items: concepts which are so new that they have no equivalent term in Finnish;
(v) repetition of the same news material on the radio and TV and in newspapers;
(vi) working conditions: translation required daily, with almost exclusively foreign working material.

The material includes news material from the foreign desk of the Finnish News Agency (STT). The news for four separate weeks will be used in order to eliminate the repetition of the same news items. The translated scripts will be compared with the original, and a one-week selection of domestic news will be analysed to see what type of language is used in news production in general. On the basis of the preliminary analysis it seems that in this area the Anglicisms will be restricted to the following types of structures:

...näin kertovat viralliset italialaislähteet - official Italian sources said
...tarkkailijat huomauttivat - observers told
...ilmaisivat järkytyksensä - expressed their shock

Some news material is not translated from the English original directly, but through Swedish. This fact will have to be taken into account in the final analysis.

Pop magazines. - In pop magazines a great deal of English elements can be found. Some are translations or borrowed concepts; the reasons for their use are quite often stylistic.

The research problems in this area are twofold. The objective is to discover

(i) how young people understand the foreign elements and how their picture of the world, and the concepts they may have, are modified, and

(ii) how the writing, pronunciation and inflection of the English elements are adapted to the Finnish system, eg. different orthographic representations of *country*: *kantti*, *country*, or of *baby*: *baby*, *beibi*, and different inflections of *style* depending on the pronunciation: *stylea* when pronounced [stail] but *stylea* when pronounced [style].

The language of pop magazines is not uniform from one article to another; different types of articles show different features in their use of foreign elements. Readers' letters to the magazines (readers' columns) will have to be considered separately, and otherwise originally Finnish texts and translated texts will have to be kept apart. Originally Finnish texts seem to have the heaviest concentration of Anglicisms, although all types of texts employ such lexical items as *beisi*, *diggata*, *bändi*, *fani* and *fiilis*. Often there are long sentences with English and Finnish items mixed with each other, eg. *Ja lue myös Mantorpin drag-race ajoista miten kumi paloi, liekit lensivät ja fiilinki oli jees indeed.*

The research material consists of *Suosikki* magazines and popular songs of the Finnish Top Ten lists for a period of about ten years. A comparison of the magazines of the 70's with those of the 50's will give a picture of the concepts that are typical of, or new to, the youth of the present decade. Lexical differences can then also be studied diachronically. These texts will also be analysed to see whether they include Anglicisms in syntactic structures.

An interesting area is that of music terms used by musicians, especially the terms associated with originally American types of music such as jazz and country and western. This jargon is, however, outside the direct concern of the present research programme.

Advertisements, trade names and trading firms. Manuals and instructions. Job announcements. - Advertising is another area where elements of foreign, usually English, origin are widely used. Foreign lexical items are obviously used in advertisements for stylistic and emphatic purposes (when the product is meant for the domestic market).

For the pilot study the advertisements were collected from *Aamulehti* and *Helsingin Sanomat* over four weekends (the Friday, Saturday and Sunday issues were included). *Helsingin Sanomat* has the highest circulation among the Finnish newspapers and is the only truly national one; *Aamulehti* is placed third. For the present analysis the material will be collected from the issues of *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Keskisuomalainen* (circulation about one-half of that of *Aamulehti*) over a three-month period. A comparison between the types and the amount of foreign elements used in the advertising in these two newspapers should give a picture of the variations due to different circulation. In addition, TV commercials will be analysed for comparison.

Trade names and trading firm names are collected from the advertisements and from the Official Trade Name Register and the Official Company Register.

The material selected under the heading of manuals and instructions includes car owner manuals, camera manuals and instructions for users of cosmetics. All this is part of everyday life in a modern society. Original manuals and instruction leaflets as well as their Finnish versions are used for analysis.

Since it seems that foreign terminology is also being used in job announcements in order to attract more attention and thus make the announcements more effective, a sample of job announcements will be included in the study.

The lexical items and the structures to be studied are retained in their original contexts, i.e. the texts and the pictures are collected along with the items themselves.

The data collection has shown that this material will yield plenty of data. Here are some typical examples:

- in advertisements: Puck's Life Show
  Puck'sissa Yessina-viikko
  Show'n aikana kosolti yllätyksiä

- in instructions: Peskää runsasvaahtoisella Normalizing Cleanserillä - Foam-wash with Normalizing Cleanser
  Virkistäkää Normalizing Tonerilla - Freshen and tone with Normalizing Toner
- in job announcements: Yhtiö rekrytoi nyt business-henkisen sales-representativen...

In addition, it has become clear in the course of gathering the data that translations have not always been made by professional translators. Often the readability of the text has suffered, because Finnish terminology and idiomatic Finnish expressions have not been employed, and quite often the text is not syntactically cohesive.

Literary and visual material

TV programmes. Dubbing is rare in Finland, and subtitles are thus mostly used. Due to the popularity of TV it is probable that the Finnish subtitles of English and American programmes are a potential vehicle for English influence. It can also be assumed that TV programmes can affect Finnish culture in other ways. There are mutual points of reference for linguistic behaviour, eg. situations where one has to say something and certain phrases that are then used. This can cause problems in translation, since the English word cannot be translated with the corresponding Finnish word, unless its value in the context and in the pragmatic situation is the same in both languages. Words have no absolute value, but they receive their values in the situation where they are used.

The following phases can be distinguished in the translation of TV texts:

(i) viewing the film;
(ii) segmenting the speech into lines (28 units/2 lines);
(iii) lines have to be shown a minimum of 5 seconds;
(iv) the translation is prepared ready for the projector;
(v) the programme is broadcast, the translator himself changes the lines.

Gay Dollerup (1974) studied Danish translations of Anglo-American programmes on Danish TV. He found out that the probability of errors in translation increases because many different aspects of community life are dealt with in a short time and because the translation of a TV programme includes the whole communication process. The errors were often due to the

fact that the original dialogue had to be shortened so that the translation could be fitted on the screen. Moreover, inadequate knowledge of the English language and Anglo-American culture resulted in mistakes in cultural matters. This was true especially when there was no direct equivalent of a given concept in Danish. Both intralingual and interlingual interference was evident in that translators sometimes used nonexistent, though intelligible, Danish words and sometimes construed the meaning of an English word on the basis of their knowledge of other English words. Numbers were surprisingly often translated wrong. Also, some errors resulted from a failure to identify and understand idioms, idiosyncrasies and context-bound meanings (Dollerup 1974: 198-200).

The Anglicism Project is concerned with the linguistic as well as the cultural aspects of TV translations. Examples of both types of Anglicisms found in the pilot study are given here:

(a) linguistic level

- loan translations:
  nursing home - hoitokoti
  cassette player - kasettisoitin (pro nauhuri)
- the meaning of the English word adopted for the Finnish word:
  If anyone can't *see* that...
  Jos joku ei *näe* sen etuja...
- an English structure transferred into Finnish:
  I *take* a shower three times a day
  Otan kolme suihkua päivittäin
- the Finnish question formed according to the English model using the declarative sentence and the question mark without the question particle *-ko/kö*:
  You're going to Dover tomorrow?
  Menet Doveriin huomenna?
  You like the furniture?
  Pidät huonekaluista?
  (What was intended in both cases was clearly an interrogation and not an expression of amazement or repetition.)

(b) cultural level

- one of the problems in translating is to decide the extent to which the features of Anglo-American culture should be made explicit to

the Finnish viewers, i.e. the customs associated with different holidays, weddings, etc.:

wedding reception - häävastaanotto (pro häät)
Halloween party - kurpitsajuhla

- On the one hand, the Finnish text should reflect the foreign culture, but on the other, it should be intelligible to the Finnish viewer.

The Pilot study showed that in addition to the analysis of linguistic and cultural aspects of the translations from the point of view of Anglicisms, there are two special points that are worth analysis. These are the translation errors, which have to be separated from actual Anglicisms, and the lack of conesion that can at times be found in the Finnish subtitles. Neither one of these is directly related to the project, but during the data gathering process both the errors and the lack of cohesion will be registered for possible further analysis. A translation error due to interference from English naturally becomes an Anglicism if it occurs several times.

The programmes to be analysed have been chosen on the basis of the viewer statistics of the Commercial TV (MTV). The language used in the programme was to be everyday language; historical and police series were excluded, disregarding their popularity. Since the language used reflects the register in interaction, the Finnish translation can be considered equivalent to modern colloquial Finnish only when the original dialogue is intended to reflect a comparable register.

The programmes have been videotaped and the text is transcribed so that the English dialogue can be seen along with the Finnish. In addition, the context of each scene, if relevant, is described for pragmatic analysis. Although this procedure is troublesome, it is the only way that can ensure a reliable analysis of the material. The material includes the following videotaped programmes:

English:	The Brothers - Testamentti	8.5 hours
	Another Boquet - Kukkakimppu piikkilankaa	2.0 h.
	Porridge - Hilut kintuissa	0.5 h.
American:	All in the Family - Perhe on pahin	4.0 h.
	Rich Man, Poor Man - Rikas, rakas, köyhä, varas	5.0 h.

So far, only programmes of the Commercial TV (MTV) have been used, since the programmes of the Finnish Broadcasting Corporation (Yleisradio) are usually different in character and there is no information about the number

of viewers. Some Yleisradio programmes will, however, be included, eg. documentaries, where there are no subtitles and the translation is given as an oral report. Programmes of Finnish origin will also be studied to find out whether any Anglicisms occur in them and, if so, what kind of Anglicisms are used in different types of language, eg. in interviews of experts from various fields, in sports programmes, in current affairs programmes, etc.

The following points are worth attention in the analysis of TV texts:

(i) the effect of the general principles of translation;

(ii) the possible effects of limited space and time, eg. the use of shortcuts and the fact that part of the text is not translated;

(iii) handling of material that is so closely tied to the cultural context that it cannot be satisfactorily understood without knowing the underlying culture; and

(iv) the analysis of pragmatic aspects, i.e. how and for what purposes the language is being used because the text is closely connected with the picture.

Comics. - Comics, like pop culture in general, reflect the behaviour patterns, values, hobbies, attitudes and social structures dominant in a community. They often take a critical attitude towards current affairs and problems and prevalent opinions. Because of their dynamic nature and popularity the effect of comics on the readership may be noticeable.

This section of the research project will study the Anglo-American elements in the comics of some Finnish newspapers and periodicals. Since the majority (70 %) of comics published in Finland is of American or English origin (Niemi 1970), it is obvious that features of Anglo-American culture and language are transmitted to the Finnish readership. The aim of the research in this area is to find out:

(i) how the elements foreign to Finnish culture are interpreted, i.e. whether they are adapted to reflect our own culture, whether their implications are explained or whether it is expected that each reader will interpret the material for himself;

(ii) if the translations employ English words, idiomatic expressions and pragmatics; and

(iii) how many and what elements are not translated at all.

The original comic strip will be compared with the translation. The material collected includes the following series:

Boner's Arc - Masan arkki
Tiger - Tiikeri
The Redeye - Punasulka
The Circus of P.T. Bimbo - Sirkus Bimbo
Hagar the Horrible - Harald Hirmuinen
(All these are published in *Helsingin Sanomat*)
Blondie - Helmi ja Heikki *Suomen Kuvalehti*)
Andy Capp - Lätsä (*Turun Sanomat*)
Peanuts/Charlie Brown - Tenavat/Jaska Jokunen (Sanoma Oy)

Preliminary comparison shows that syntactic, morphological and lexical influence is less important than the problems connected with the interpretation of cultural aspects and the translation of idiomatic expressions. The latter are also more difficult to discern.

Most of the lexical items of foreign origin were translation loans (*pähkinävoi - peanut butter, päästä korkealle - get high, vesipatja - water bed*). There were also a few direct loans which were often adapted to the Finnish orthography (*showbusiness*) or which had retained the English spelling (*popcorn*).

When the elements to be translated include cultural features that have to be understood before the meaning can be interpreted correctly, the translator has to decide how much the readers can be expected to know about these cultural elements. It seems, on the basis of the material studied so far, that there are no general principles that the translators can follow in translating the elements with special cultural connotations. Some foreign elements and their implications are explained in detail, some are left for the readers to interpret, and some are adapted to Finnish culture. Some of these elements are, of course, easily intelligible (*pähkinävoi*) or already familiar since they have been accepted to the language earlier (*popcorn*). There are cases, however, in which the concept is familiar to or part of Finnish culture but a foreign expression or wrong translation is used (eg. *restroom* is often translated as *lepohuone*, although it actually is *WC*).

It is often difficult to tell whether a translation which appears to be erroneous is in fact an intentional adaptation to the Finnish reader's experience, eg. *Ferris wheel* translated as *karuselli* instead of *maailmanpyörä*. However, there are obvious errors, such as *quote a price* translated as *veloittaa* instead of *ilmoittaa hinta, esittää hintatarjous* or *250 pounds* as *250 taalaa* when the meaning was clearly *250 naulaa*.

Idioms and puns, very frequent in comics, are extremely difficult to translate, because the reader should understand both the meanings of the individual words and the meaning of the idiom as a whole and interpret the intentional ambiguity. There were several successful renderings of jokes in Finnish, but this often means rewriting the whole comic strip. Strips are often translated literally and cannot be understood the right way, eg. when *rub somebody the wrong way* (AE) is translated *hieroa väärällä tavalla* instead of *ärsyttää*.

One interesting point which was found in the preliminary analysis was the use of English interjections (the English *Oh!* was used to express amazement of eg. *Ohoh!*). English onomatopoeic and descriptive words are used frequently (eg. *säm* or *slam, clank, thump, rattle, clink, thud* etc.). These are worth special attention.

Testing

The second phase of the programme will consist of the establishment of the validity of the collected material by means of tests administered to Finns with varying backgrounds. Since Anglicisms will be studied on several levels, the tests will also include items from different levels. The two main aspects to be tested are:

(i) how the meanings of foreign elements are understood and
(ii) how the foreign elements are adapted to the Finnish text (orthography, pronunciation and inflection).

The tests will be carried out in 1978. Most of the informants will be students of secondary-level institutes coming from different areas (urban vs. rural) and having different socio-economic backgrounds. The cities of Kuopio and Lahti have been chosen to represent the distinction between southern industrial Finland and the developing inland areas. Moreover, the schools in these two towns draw students both from the urban area and from the surrounding rural areas. Kuopio and Lahti are situated in different dialectal areas.

The testees will answer a questionnaire which consists of items testing their understanding and use of Anglicisms. Some areas, like pronunciation, will be tested in oral interviews. The test items will be drawn from the research material collected; Anglicisms of all types will be included. On the lexical level, the test items will cover ortho-

graphy, pronunciation and inflection (*country-kantri, style-stylea-stylea*) and the understanding of the lexical elements. On the syntactic level, acceptance, understanding and the use of the syntactic structures will be tested (eg. *ottaa suihku, Pidät huonekaluista?*).

In addition, questions will be included on the informants' background (age, sex, education, home region, parents' education/profession etc.), on their linguistic attitudes and on their use of foreign languages (language studies, attitudes towards foreign elements in various types of oral and written texts, where and how the student uses English, and what types and what sections of newspapers and magazines he reads).

This information will be analysed in relation to the actual test results to find out possible correlations. The test results will be employed in the final analysis along with the other material collected.

Analysis

The analysis will aim at giving an account of the following points:

(i) the types of Anglicisms in Finnish on various linguistic and cultural levels in language to which Finns are exposed in their everyday life;

(ii) the degree and type of adaptation of the English elements to the Finnish linguistic system;

(iii) the use and the degree of understanding of Anglicisms; and

(iv) the number of Anglicisms already established in Finnish (eg. Anglicisms found in *Nykysuomen sanakirja*).

In addition, in each area several special points will be taken into account. It is obvious that particular attention will be paid to the linguistic levels but the main principle will be that all levels are considered in all research areas.

CONCLUSION

The Anglicisms Project is quite extensive, which means that there is an almost unlimited amount of potential material. Since the main criterion is the size of the group exposed to English influence, the special terminologies of different professional areas have been excluded. Such language is meant mainly for experts and it does not normally affect the general public. Terms of English origin are, however, used frequently in a semi-formal Finnish register (eg. *informaatio, kommunikaatio, media, studio, design*)

and their amount will have to be studied in the project. Many of these terms have no definite Finnish equivalent (eg. terms used in advertising and sports language); quite a few are obviously used intentionally to increase the international element in Finnish vocabulary. This results in variations in pronunciation: sometimes these words are pronounced like words in Finnish and sometimes like words in English.

It is natural that languages change, adopt new concepts and words, and drop those that are no longer needed. In this way they are adjusted to changing reality. The Anglicism Project aims at discovering the number of English-based elements in today's Finnish and at providing different responsible authorities, like the media, translators, language planners, with relevant information. Language and culture are so closely connected that it is theoretically possible to arrive at a situation where a national language, an entire culture, attitudes, way of thinking and a whole way of life are seriously affected by foreign influence.

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